

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 2895

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: CSCE CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES: APPLICATION ON SOVIET
TERRITORY

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL

REF: A. USNATO 2709 B. GENEVA 3060

SUMMARY: IN FURTHER DISCUSSION STIMULATED BY UK LETTER, SOME POLADS
ON MAY 21 THOUGHT THAT APPLICATION OF CBM'S
TO 500KM. OF SOVIET BORDER TERRITORY WOULD IN THE END SATIS-
FACTORILY SAFEGUARD ALLIED INTERESTS, BUT IT WOULD BE UP
TO SOVIETS TO MAKE FORMAL PROPOSAL TO EXCEPT THE REMAINDER OF
THEIR EUROPEAN TERRITORY. UK SUGGESTED WRITTEN FORMULATION OF
AGREED ALLIED VIEWS FOR USE BY GENEVA CSCE REPS.
END SUMMARY.
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1. UK REP ON MAY 16 CIRCULATED FURTHER ANALYSIS OF APPLI-
CATION OF CBM'S TO SOVIET TERRITORY, FOLLOWING UP DISCUSSION
REPORTED REF A. IF APPLICATION WERE TO BE DEFINED IN TERMS OF
MILITARY DISTRICTS COMBINED WITH PARALLELS OF LONGITUDE/LATITUDE,

UK PROPOSED FOLLOWING DEFINITION:

"LENINGRAD MILITARY DISTRICT WEST OF THE WHITE SEA AND DOWN THE 35 DEGREE EAST LINE TO THE BORDER OF MOSCOW MILITARY DISTRICT; THE WHOLE OF THE BALTIC, BELORUSSIA, CARPATHIA, ODESSA, KIEV AND TRANSCAUCASUS MILITARY DISTRICTS; AND NORTH CAUCASUS MILITARY DISTRICT (EITHER WEST OF THE VOLGA OR SOUTH OF THE RIVER LINE ROSTOV-VOLGOGRAD-ASTRAKHAN.)"

2. IF , ON OTHER HAND, ALLIES AGREED IN THE END TO ACCEPT APPLICATION OF CBM'S IN A 500KM BAND ADJOINING TERRITORIES OF OTHER CSCE PARTICIPANTS, UK FORESAW CONSEQUENCES AS FOLLOWS:

"A. A 500-KILOMETRE ZONE MEASURED FROM THE WESTERN BORDER OF THE USSR WOULD COVER THE WHOLE OF THE BALTIC, CARPATHIA AND TRANSCAUCASUS MILITARY DISTRICTS. A VERY SMALL BULGE ON THE EASTERN EDGE OF BELORUSSIA MILITARY DISTRICT WOULD ESCAPE; THIS AT PRESENT CONTAINS NO DIVISIONS.

B. ODESSA MILITARY DISTRICT WOULD BE COMPLETELY COVERED

I IF THE 500 KILOMETRES WERE MEASURED BOTH FROM THE ROMANIAN BORDER AND FROM THE BLACK SEA COAST. IF THEY WERE MEASURED ONLY FROM THE ROMANIAN BORDER, AND AREA NORTH OF THE SEA OF AZOV AND EAST OF A LINE DRAWN ROUGHLY THROUGH DNEPROPETROVSK AND MELITOPOL ESCAPES.

C. KIEV MILITARY DISTRICT WOULD NOT BE COMPLETELY COVERED. MEASURED FROM THE ROMANIAN BORDER, AND AREA EAST OF A LINE VERY ROUGHLY BETWEEN CHERNOGOV AND KREMENCHUG WOULD ESCAPE. THIS WOULD BE COVERED (IN PART) IF THE 500 KILOMETRES WERE MEASURED IN FROM THE BLACK SEA COAST.

D. ALTHOUGH BOTH LENINGRAD AND NORTH CAUCASUS MILITARY DISTRICTS EXTEND SOME 100 KILOMETRES OR SO FROM THE SOVIET BORDER, ALL BUT ONE DIVISION IN EACH WOULD COME WITHIN 500 KILOMETRES OF A BORDER. FINALLY, A SMALL PART
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OF MOSCOW MILITARY DISTRICT (CONTAINING ONE DIVISION) WOULD ALSO FALL WITHIN THE 500-KILOMETRE LIMIT."

3. AT BEGINNING OF POLADS MEETING MAY 22, MC REP REPORTED IN REPLY TO QUESTION AT PREVIOUS MEETING (REF A) THAT SOVIET MD'S DID NOT IN MANY CASES COINCIDE WITH OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS, AND IT WOULD THUS NOT BE POSSIBLE TO FIND ALTERNATIVE DESIGNATIONS TO DELINEATE MD'S IN A CSCE RESOLUTION.

4. UK REP SAID EITHER BORDER MD'S OR BAND OF TERRITORY WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO LONDON FOR APPLICATION OF CBM'S BUT HIS PERSONAL VIEW WAS THAT BAND OF TERRITORY WAS MOST PROMISING AVENUE. FRG REP SAID BONN COULD ACCEPT NO LESS THAN 500KM. BAND OR THREE WESTERN SOVIET MD'S. FRENCH REP SAID PARIS HAD NO FIRM POSITIONS,

BUT WAS TENDING TOWARDS 500KM. BAND. IN THIS REGARD SEVERAL REPS CITED MENDELEVICH STATEMENT ON MAY 15 (PARA 4 REF B). CHAIRMAN SAID THERE APPEARED TO BE EMERGING CONSENSUS IN FAVOR OF 500KM. BAND AS EVENTUAL ALLIED FALLBACK, BUT ALSO NOTED POINT STRESSED BY U.S. AS WELL AS UK AND FRG REPS THAT ALLIES SHOULD CONTINUE TO SPEAK OF APPLICATION OF CBM'S IN EUROPE AND LET SOVIETS MAKE ANY PROPOSALS FOR EXCEPTIONS IN THEIR TERRITORY.

5. UK REP SPECULATED THAT 500KM BAND MIGHT BE GENERALIZED AND WOULD PROBABLY STILL COVER ALL TERRITORIES OF ALL EUROPEAN CSCE PARTICIPANTS EXCEPT USSR, IF IT WERE MEASURES FROM SEA COASTS AS WELL AS FROM BORDERS. COMMENT: UK THOUGHT HAS CONSIDERABLE MERIT, SINCE ALLIES COULD SAY, IN ACCEPTING EVENTUALLY THE APPLICATION OF CBM'S ONLY IN 500KM BAND OF SOVIET TERRITORY AGREED CSCE LANGUAGE NEED NOT SINGLE OUT USSR AS AN EXCEPTION TO THE GENERAL RULE AGREED TO BE OTHERS. IF THE BAND WERE MEASURED FROM ALL EUROPEAN BORDERS AND COASTS OF ALL PARTICIPANTS, ALLIES COULD MAKE POINT THAT THEY WERE IN EFFECT AGREEING TO SOVIET CONCEPT OF CBM'S "IN BORDER AREAS," AND PRESENT THIS AS A MAJOR CONCESSION, IN RETURN FOR WHICH ALLIES COULD SEEK IMPORTANT SOVIET CONCESSIONS ON OTHER POINTS. END COMMENT.

6. ITALIAN REP POINTED OUT THAT SOVIETS WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO AGREE TO EXCEPTIONS OF PARTS OF TURKISH TERRITORY FROM APPLICATION OF CBM'S, IF CBM'S WERE TO BE APPLIED TO ALL SOVIET TERRITORY
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WITHIN 500 KM. OF BLACK SEA AND/OR TURKISH ANATOLIAN BORDER.

7. UK REP THOUGHT NATO ALLIES SHOULD ATTEMPT TO FORMULATE VIEWS ON CBM APPLICATION IN SOVIET TERRITORY, TO EXTENT THEY WERE AGREED, FOR BENEFIT OF THEIR CSCE REPS. FRG REP AGREED, NOTING THAT DECISIONS MIGHT BE CALLED FOR AS EARLY AS JUNE 7 NAC ON CSCE ISSUES. DISCUSSION TO CONTINUE AT MAY 28 POLADS MEETING.
MCAULIFFE.

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